ETHNOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL DIVISION OF GEORGIA

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131 GEORGIA lies between the two systems of the Caucasian Mountains—that of the Great Caucasus in the north and that of the Little Caucasus in the south. On the west she borders upon the Black Sea, between the River Pso in the north and the village of Sarp in the south (south-west of Batum); on the east she is bounded by the River Alazani and its junction with the Yori. On the east is Azerbaijan and on the south are Armenia and Turkey.

Within these boundaries Georgia occupies an area of 72,661 square [161] *versts*, or 75,792 square kilometres, and she has a population of about 3,000,000.

The territory of Georgia in the present-day political sense does not coincide with the territory which can be called Georgia in the national sense, for a considerable portion of the Georgian territory lies outside her present-day frontiers, such as the Zak'at'ala district in the east, the southern part of the Bortchalo district in the south, and Artvin, Ardahan, Ardanutch, and Olti in the south-west. Apart from these latter four districts which the Bolsheviks ceded to Turkey by the Treaty of Kars (March, 1921), the whole of the middle basin of the Dchorokh, known as *Klarjet'-T'ort'um-Ispiri*, and *Lazistan* along the Black Sea coast, inhabited by the Laz, a Georgian tribe, have now for a considerable time been under Turkey.

101 The country which is inhabited at present by the Georgians, and which has been their homeland for the last twenty-five to thirty centuries, is called in Georgian *Sak'art'velo* (Sa-k'art'-v-el-o). The name *Sak'art'velo* (Georgia) and *K'art'veli* (a Georgian) is derived from the name of *K'art'li* (K'art'-l-i), a principal province of Georgia and its inhabitants, the K'art'ians or K'art'lians, who gave their name to the whole country just as Schwyz gave its name to the whole of Switzerland.

[133] The Suram range or *Likhis-mt'a* (Mountains of Likhi), which connects the system of the Great Caucasus in the north with the system of the Little Caucasus in the south, divides Georgia into two principal parts—Western and Eastern, or, using the Georgian terminology, into *Imier* "that side" and *Amier* "this side" (of the Suram or Likhi range); Western and Eastern Georgia were therefore called also *Likht'-imieri* and *Likht'-amieri* Georgia, and the two parts of the country *Likht' Imeret'i* and *Likht' Ameret'i* respectively.

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Western Georgia

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Western or *Likht'-imieri* Georgia comprises the following "countries" (ethnographic units) and traditional territorial divisions:

Ap'khazet'i (Ap'khaz-et'-i)—the country of the Ap'khaz-es or Abkhasians,[1] which under the present Bolshevik regime constitutes a Soviet Socialist Republic and is included in Georgia on a Treaty basis. Abkhasia occupies the north-eastern corner of the Black Sea littoral from the River Pso in the north-west to the Mountains of Khurum (a southern lateral range of the main Caucasus chain), in the north-east, and the River Engur in the south-east; she thus lies between the Black Sea and the western portion of the Great Caucasus from the peak Akhakhtcha to the peak Gvandra, which constitutes the *Abkhasian Alps*.

Ap'khazet'i comprised, according to the Georgian annals, the following "countries": *Ap'khazet'i* proper, north-west of the town of Tskhumi or Sukhum; *Apshilet'i* (A-psh-il-et'-i), south-east of Sukhum; and *Sharo* or *Sharoet'i*, an as yet unidentified part of Ap'khazet'i.[2]

The Abkhasians are divided into:—

Gagraa—Gagr-ians, the Abkhasians of the Gagra region.

Abzɐphua or *Abzɐphwa*—Bzibians of the present Gudout (Gudaut) district, the Abkhasians proper.

Gumaa—Gum-ians, the Abkhasians of the Guma valley.

Ab'zhouaa or *Abzhuwaa*—Abzhu-ians, the Abkhasians of the district between the Rivers Kodor and Galizga, the *Apshilet'i* (A-psh-il-et'-i) and *Apsh-il-el-ni*, Apshil-ians of the Georgian annals.

Samɐrzaqanaa or *Mɐrzaqaniuaa*—Murzaq-an-ians or Samurzaqan-ians, the Abkhasians of Samurzaqano (Samurzakan) between the rivers Galizga (Geo. Ghalidzga) and Engur.

Dsabalaa—Dsabal-ians, the Abkhasians of *Dsibelda* (Tsebelda and Tsebeldians of the Russians), the middle valley of the Kodor.

Dalaa—Dal-ians of the Dal defile or upper Dsibelda. [See S. Basaria, *Abkhazia* (in Russian), Sukhum, 1923, pp. 47–8.]

Svanet'i (Svan-et'-i-i)—the country of the Svans-s, Svan-ians (Svanetia of the Russians), lying under the very shadow of Elbrus, the highest peak of the Great Caucasus. The boundaries of Svanet'i are: In the north the main Caucasus chain, which constitutes here the *Tatarо-Svanetian Alps*; in the east the Lukhunistsveri or Letchkhum range; in the south the Zagier, Ziadistavi, Rokal

[1] The Abkhasians call themselves *Apsua* (Abɐua), which denotes "people of soul" and their country *Apsny* (Abɐna), denoting "the country of soul".

[2] See I. Javakhishvili, *A History of the Georgian Nation* (in Georgian), Tiflis, 1914, vol. ii, p. 315.

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(2,650 m.), Shui and Debash ridges; and in the west the north-eastern borders of Abkhasia.[1]

Samegrelo (Sa-m-egr-el-o) or Megrelia (M-egr-el-i-a)—the country of the Megr-s, Megr-ians, or rather Egr-s, Egr-ians, called to-day Megrelians (Mingrelia and Mingrelians of the Russians), which borders upon the Black Sea and lies between the River Engur on the north-west and the rivers Tskhenis-tsqali and Rion on the east and south respectively; in the north Megrelia borders upon Svanet'i.[2]

Guria (Gur-i-a)—the country of the Gur-ians, which borders on the Black Sea, between the Rion and Dcholok' rivers, and occupies the basins of the Supsa and Notanebi rivers.

Imeret'i (Imer-et'-i)—the country of the Imer-s, Imer-ians (Imeretia and Imeretians of the Russians), bounded on the north by the Caucasus chain, on the east by the Suram range, on the south by the Ghado range; in the west it borders upon Megrelia and Guria, and in the north-west upon Svanet'i.

Imeret'i comprises the following traditional territorial divisions:—

Letchkhumi, called formerly T'akueri,[3] west of Megrelia and south of Svanet'i, from which it is separated by the Letchkhum range.

Radcha, east of Letchkhumi, occupying the upper basin of the Rion, between the Nak'erala or Radcha range in the south and the Caucasus chain in the north.

Argvet'i or *Margvet'i*, south of Radcha, occupying the valleys of the Rivers Qvirila, Tchkherimela, Tcholaburi, and their tributaries, in the eastern part of Imeret'i.

Western Georgia, the ethnographical division of which we have just described, has in the course of her history been known under different names. In ancient times she was known to the early Greeks as *Kolkhida* (Colchis), celebrated in Greek mythology as the place

[1] The Svanetian range, which is the highest of the southern lateral ranges of the main Caucasus chain, divides Svanet'i into two main parts, namely—
Upper (*Zemo*) or Northern, Svanet'i, occupying the upper basin of the River Engur, and
Lower (*K'vemo*) or Southern, Svanet'i, occupying the upper basin of the River Tskhenis-tsqali.
Upper Svanet'i, in its turn, was divided into *Dadeshk'eliani's Svaneti*, that is the western part of the country, as far as Edseri, ruled by the Princes *Dadeshk'eliani*, and *Free Svanet'i*—the eastern part, so-called because it had never been subjugated by any feudal lord, having been governed by a council of communities, constituting a defensive union in the manner of free Swiss communities. Similarly Lower Svanet'i was called *Dadiani's Svaneti* because it had been held by the *Dadianis*, the ruling Princes of Megrelia.

[2] *Samegrelo* in ancient times was called *Egrisi* (Egr-is-i) or *Saegroy* (Sa-egr-o-y), also *Odishi*.

[3] T'akueri (Mod. Geo. T'akveri) appears to have been also the ancient name of Radcha. Professor Javakhishvili supposes that T'akveri was anciently a common name for both Letchkhumi and Radcha (op. cit., p. 314).

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instance, denotes the land of the Lazian tribe proper, in the south-west, between the Dchorokh basin and the Black Sea, the present-day Dchanet'i or Lazistan. In the broad sense, however, Lazica implies the expansion of the political power of the Laz, the unification under their leadership of all the Georgian tribes that inhabited the then Western Georgia and the establishment over them of their politico-cultural hegemony, i.e. it denotes the State created by the Laz. The same applies to the name Kolkhida, which in the broad sense represents the State created by the Kolkhian tribe. As long as the political hegemony was in the hands of the Kolkhians the State which embraced the whole of Western Georgia was called Kolkhida after the dominant Kolkhian tribe. When, however, the Kolkhians lost their political importance, and leadership passed into the hands of the Laz, the State began to be called Lazica after the superseding Lazian tribe.

It should be noted here that none of these names, neither Kolkhida (Colchis) nor Lazica, is mentioned in any early Georgian historical or literary monuments. The name these monuments mention is **Egrisi,** and in the sense in which it undoubtedly covers Kolkhida or Lazica. According to *The Life of Georgia*—the Georgian chronicle—Egrisi constituted " the country at the corner of the Sea, with the boundaries on the east, the small mountain called to-day Likhi ; on the west the Sea (and) the river of Lesser Khazaret'i,[1] where it terminates the Caucasus (range) ".[2] Egrisi is here defined in its broad conception, and like Lazica or Kolkhida covers the whole of Western Georgia. Egrisi in the narrow sense is defined in the same source as follows : " . . . the Egrisis-tsqali [3] and the Rion, from the sea to the mountain, within which lie Egrisi and Svanet'i " (ibid., p. 31).

It is evident from this quotation that Egrisi in this sense corresponds to Megrelia, the boundaries of which have been indicated above. If we now remember that the dominant tribe, the Lazo-Megrelians, who held the politico-cultural hegemony in Lazica, dwelt, in the words of Procopius, on the European, i.e. northern, side of the Rion, it is clear that the population of Egrisi was Lazo-Megrelian, or in the mind of the compiler of *The Georgian Life* predominantly Megrelian, for Egrisi denotes the country of the Egr-s, Egr-ians or Megr-ians. " Now," to quote Professor Marr, " the Georgians see Megrelians only in the inhabitants of the present-day Megrelia, but the ancient Georgian monuments prove that (formerly) the Georgians well knew the wider conception of the term Eger. From this stem is derived Egrisi

[1] The Kuban River.

[2] N. Marr, *Histoire de la Géorgie depuis l'Antiquité jusqu'au XIX^e siècle, publié en Géorgien par M. Brosset.* 1^re *Partie,* 1^re *livraison (en partie). Redaction faite par Nicolas Marr,* St. Pb., 1923, p. 17. Also Javakhishvili, *History,* vol. ii (1914), p. 311.

[3] Some Georgian historians identify this river with the River Engur or Ingur.

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103 under which name was understood the whole of Western Georgia with
[10] the present-day Imeret'i, Guria, Imerkhevi, etc." [1]

Egrisi, of the Georgian annals is thus, in so far as it embraced the whole of Western Georgia, an identical conception with and equivalent to Kolkhida and Lazica of the classical writers, in its broad, or, shall we say, collective sense.

Western Georgia has been known under yet another collective name, that of Ap'khazet'i or Abkhasia, which was given her by the Abkhasians. In the eighth century the Abkhasians became strong enough not only to assert their independence, but also to impose their hegemony upon the whole of Egrisi. Their first king, Leon I (744–791), "conquered Egrisi to the (Mountains of) Likhi," [2] and Western Georgia or Egrisi was thenceforward called Ap'khazet'i or Ap'khazet'-Egrisi. The name Ap'khazet'i is thus, like its predecessors, Egrisi or Lazica and Kolkhida, to be understood in the broad and narrow sense; in the latter sense Ap'khazet'i is a part of Western Georgia, the country of the Abkhasians proper, in the north-eastern corner of the Black Sea; in the former, broad sense, Ap'khazet'i denoted not only Western Georgia but also parts of Eastern Georgia (ninth–tenth centuries). Western Georgia continued to be called Ap'khazet'i until the unification of both Eastern and Western Georgia under the single crown of Bagrat III, of the Bagratid dynasty, in 980.

During the period of the United Kingdom of Georgia, came into use the division of the country into *Likht'-imieri* and *Likht'-amieri* Georgia, and the terms *Likht' Imeret'i* and *Likht' Ameret'i*. *Imeret'i* in this sense has, however, no connection whatever with the ethnic term Imeret'i denoting the country of the Imer-s, Imer-ians.[3] *Likht' Imeret'i* or *Likht'-imieri* Georgia in so far as it indicates Georgia *on that side of, across, over*, the Likhi or Suram range, regarded, of course, from the point of view of the K'art'lians (Eastern Georgians), denotes the whole of Western Georgia, while the ethnic term, *Imeret'i*, only a certain region in this *Likht'-imieri* Georgia or *Likht' Imeret'i*.

"In antiquity, of course, the Imer-s occupied," Marr states, "a considerably larger area; their name has been preserved as a survival in a district of the Batum Province (Imer-khevi, which denotes the Imerian defile), and from historical geography, too, we know that

[1] N. Marr, *Baptism of the Armenians, Georgians, Abkhasians, and Alans by St. Gregory, an Arab version* (in Russian) in *Bulletin* ("*Zapishi*") *of the Eastern Branch of the Imperial Russian Archæological Society*, St. Pb., 1906, vol. xvi, p. 169.

[2] According to Brosset in 787; see his *Histoire de la Géorgie*, St. Pb., 1849, 2^me^ *partie*, p. 259, n. 3.

[3] The abstract forms *Imeret'i* and *Ameret'i* are derived from the adjectives *imier* and *amier* (by the elision of the medial *i*) and in this formation are equivalent to the Latin *trans-* and *cis-* respectively. *Likht'-imieri* Georgia may therefore be translated *trans-Likhian* Georgia; similarly *Likht'-amieri* Georgia, *cis-Likhian* Georgia. The abstract form, however, is an abnormal, purely artificial formation, and *Likht' Imeret'i* and *Likht' Ameret'i* literally denote "Likh-Transia" and "Likh-Cisia"

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the terms Imeret'i and Mingrelia were identical; to this effect we have also a linguistic basis, but, nevertheless, *imer* is one of the local differentiated ancient forms of a general ethnic term, preserved as a survival by a definite and ethnographically differentiated region. The full, more ancient form of the term *imer* is **himer*, resp. **hiber*." [1]

Eastern Georgia

Eastern or *Likht'-amieri* Georgia comprises the following "countries" or ethnographic divisions.

Kakhet'i (Kakh-et'-i), the country of the Kakh-s, Kakh-ians (Kakhetia and Kakhetians of the Russians), which constitutes the extreme eastern part of Georgia, lies between the Mtkvari(Kur)-Aragvi rivers (on the west) and the eastern part of the main Caucasus chain (the *Deghestan* and *Samur Alps*), stretching in a south-easterly direction from the Pirik'it'eli chain [2] of the Great Caucasus Mountains in the north to the confluence of the Rivers Yori and Alazani.

Kakhet'i is divided into two parts by the Kakhetian range or *Tsiv-Gomboris-mt'a*. This range is a ramification of the Great Caucasus, and stretches south-east, curling like a sickle; outside the curve lies the western or Outer (*Garet'*) Kakhet'i, and inside it the eastern or Inner (*Shignit'*) Kakhet'i. The former occupies the basin of the River Yori (in ancient times called the "Little Alazani") and the latter that of the Alazani.

Inner Kakhet'i comprises:—

T'ushet'i (T'ush-et'-i)—the country of the T'ush-es (Tushetia and Tushins of the Russians), occupying the northern part of Inner Kakhet'i; its northern boundary is the Pirik'it'eli chain between the peaks Tebulos-mt'a (4507 m.) and Diklos-mt'a (4135 m.), north of the main Caucasus chain; a portion of the latter, between Mount Borbalo (3290 m.) and Mount Shavi-klde (3581 m.), stretches almost across the middle of the country. This portion of the Great Caucasus is known as the *Tushetian Alps*.

K'iziqi, under which name is known the district of Sighnagh (Signakh of the Russians), constitutes the southern part of Inner Kakhet'i, between the Yori and Alazani. It was also called Kambetchani or Kambetchoani.

Saingilo (Sa-ingil-o), north-east of K'iziqi, between the Alazani river and the Samur Alps, better known as the district of Zak'at'ala (Zakataly of the Russians).

[1] N. Marr, *Baptism*, etc., p. 168.

[2] So is called by the Georgians the chain running parallel to the main Caucasus chain (the watershed). It stretches north of the latter, at a distance of 10 to 30 klm., from the Elbrus group in the west to the summit Shakh-dagh in the east. It is composed chiefly of granite and gneiss and forms the main tectonic axis of the whole Great Caucasus.

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Outer Kakhet'i includes :—

Khevsuret'i (Khev-sur-et'i)—the country of the Khevsur-s, occupying the northernmost part of Outer Karkhet'i, from the Mountains of Udzilauri in the south to the Pirik'it'eli chain north of the main Caucasus chain. A portion of the latter, from the summit Shino-tau (3928 m.) to Mount Borbalo, stretches in a south-easterly direction across the country. Khevsuret'i occupies the defile of the Khevsur Aragvi which flows southward, joining the P'shav Aragvi near Ortsqali under the Udzilauri Mountains, and the defiles of the K'istani or Labais-tsqali, Khakhobis-tsqali and Andakis-tsqali, which flow northwards, and the confluence of which forms the River Argun, the principal river of the Tchetchens in North Caucasia.

Pshavet'i (Pshav-et'-i)—the country of the P'shav-s, south of Khevsuret'i, occupying the defiles of the P'shav Aragvi, which rises in Mount Borbalo.

Besides T'ush-P'shav-Khevsuret'i, the Aragvi valleys and generally the northern parts of Kakhet'i and K'art'li comprised many ethnic " countries " of the Georgian Mountaineers, each with its own name and boundaries, some of which still exist.

Enumerated from south to north these are [1] :—

In the mountains called at present collectively the K'art'lian range [2] and on the upper course of the River Yori :

Erdso, in the Mountains of Erdso, north of the confluence of the Erdsos-tsqali or Adzet'i, a western tributary of the Yori ;

Dsobeni, north-west of Erdso, in the Mountains of Dsobona-mt'a ;

T'ianet'i, north of Erdso, occupying the upper valley of the Yori ;

P'khoet'i, north of T'ianet'i, covering the present day P'shavet'i and Khevsuret'i. Prince Vakhust, a Georgian geographer and historian of the eighteenth century, states that the P'shavo-Khevsurians were called formerly *P'kho(v)elni*, P'khovians.

In the mountains forming the watershed between the rivers K'san and Aragvi :

Tskhavati, north of the confluence of the Alevi, an eastern tributary of the K'san ;

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[1] See Javakhishvili, *History*, ii (1914), p. 302.

[2] The range called to-day the K'art'lian or *Kartalinski Khrebet* in Russian (see A. F. Lyayster and G. F. Tchursin, *Geografya Kavkaza*, Tiflis, 1924, p. 23), is one of the southern lateral ranges of the main Caucasus chain, constituting the watershed between the P'shav Aragvi and the Mtkvari(Kur) on the one hand and the Yori on the other, and merges in the south with the Yori plateau. The *Kukhet'is-mt'a* and *Garejis-mt'a* of the Georgian sources constituted the southern part of this K'art'lian range.

Dchartalet'i, east of Tskhavati, in the Dchartali and T'khnoli Mountains;

Tskhrazma, north of Tskhavati, in the gorge of the River Tskhrazmula, also an eastern tributary of the K'san.

In the upper gorges of the Aragvi rivers[1]:

Gudamaqari (Gudamakar), occupying the valley of the Black Aragvi which is called also the Gudamaqari Aragvi;

Mt'iulet'i, the country of the Mt'i-ul-s, west of Gudamaqari, occupying the upper gorge of the White Aragvi which is called also the Mt'iulian Aragvi;

Khada, north-west of Mt'iulet'i and north of Gudamaqari;

Khevi, the country of the Mo-khev-e-ni, above Khada, at the beginning of the Terek valley;

Dsanaret'i (Dsan-ar-et'i or Dsanar-et'-i), the country of the Dsanar-s, possibly the neighbourhood, according to Javakhishvili, of *Dsilkanis-kari*—the "Gate of Dsilkani"—and *Gza Dsilkanisay*—the "Road of Dsilkani"—under which name was known *Gza Darielisay* or *Darialanisay*—the Road of Dariel (Darial) or Darialan (Dar-i-Alan).

In ancient times Kakhet'i was divided into three parts, namely:—

Kakhet'i proper, "the country between the Caucasus and the Kakhetian range, from the Aragvi to Tqetba" (Gulguli above the town of T'elavi).

Kukhet'i (Kukh-et'-i),—the country south of Kakhet'i, "from the Aragvi to the head of the Mountains of Kakhet'i, between the Alazani and the Mtkvari," bounded on the south by the Mountains of Gareja or Garesja.[2]

Heret'i (Her-et'-i), the country south and south-east of Kukhet'-Kakhet'i, between the Mtkvari and the Caucasus (the Daghestan the Samur Alps), extending south-eastward to the Egri- or Airi-tchai-Kish rivers, called Gishis-tsqali in the Georgian sources, and the

[1] The River Aragvi rises under the name *T'et'r* (White) Aragvi in the main Caucasus chain, on Mount *Qeli* (Keli). At Pasanauri it is joined from the north by a tributary called *Shav* (Black) Argavi; further south, at Zhinvani, near Ananur, it receives from the north-east a tributary known as P'shav Aragvi, the middle and upper gorges of which are inhabited by the P'shavs. The P'shav Aragvi in its turn receives from the north a tributary called Khevsurian Aragvi. Below Zhinvani the river, which falls into the Mtkvari at Mtskhet'a, is called simply Aragvi. The name Aragvi was given by the Georgians also to the Terek which rises on Mounts Siveraut, Zilga-khokh, and Gimarai-khokh of the main Caucasus chain, and flows northward through the Darial Pass. In distinction from the White Aragvi, it was called *Aragvi Ovset'issay*, i.e. Ossetian Aragvi. Georgians called the latter river also *Lomekhi* or *T'ergi*.

[2] "Kakhet'i is T'ianet'i above the Khevi (valley) of T'urdo as far as Khevsuret'i; Kukhet'i is Samgori above Nino-Dsminda and higher up, above Samgori to the Mountain of Erdso and to the Aragvi" [see N. Marr, *Histoire de la Géorgie, 1re Partie, Histoire ancienne, jusqu'en 1469 de J.C.* (in Georgian), Petrograd, 1923, p. 20, n. 2.]

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101 junction of the Yori-Alazani.[1] Heret'i [2] thus covered the "countries"
131 of K'iziqi and Saingilo, constituting at present the south-eastern part
103 of Inner Kakhet'i, and in addition *veli Qaraiisa*—the Field of Qaraia,
162 or the Steppe of Karayaz of the Russians, between the Mtkvari and the Yori.

According to Professor Javakhishvili [3] all the three names—Kakhet'i, Kukhet'i or Kokhet'i, and Heret'i—implied different conceptions at different times, according as to whence came the dynasty of the K'orepiskoposi [4] of the then Kakhet'i.

K'art'li (K'art'-l-i), the country of the K'art-s or K'art'-l-s, K'art'-(l)-ians (Kartalinia and Kartalinians of the Russians), which was divided into three main parts, namely :—

Inner (*Shina*) *K'art'li* (Northern K'art'li), between Imeret'i and Northern Kakhet'i, or the Suram range in the west and the Aragvi river and Tiflis in the east, extending from the T'rialet'ian or Arjevan range northwards to the Pirik'it'eli chain of the Great Caucasus.

Lower (*K'vemo*) *K'art'li* (Southern K'art'li), south of Inner K'art'li, between the southern Kakhet'i, or the Mtkvari on the east and the Javakhetian range or *Mokrye Gory* ("Wet Mountains") on the west, bounded on the south by the Erevnis-mt'a (Pambak) range.

Upper (*Zemo*) *K'art'li* (South-Western K'art'li), between the Lower K'art'li (east) and the Black Sea (west), stretching from the Adchara-Ghado range in the north to the Mountains of Ispir and Deveh Boyun in the south. Viewed as part of Georgia as a whole, Upper K'art'li is often called Southern Georgia. Upper K'art'li or Southern Georgia thus occupies the upper basin of the Mtkvari, the middle basin of the Dchorokh, the two basins being divided by the Arsian-Soganlugh ranges, their watersheds, and the Black Sea littoral, divided from the Dchorokh valley by the Dchanet'i or Pontic range.

Each of the main parts of K'art'li comprised and still comprises the following ethnographic and traditional territorial divisions :—

Inner K'art'li :—

Oset'i (Os-et'-i)—the country of the Os-es or Ossets (Osetia and Osetins of the Russians), which under the present Bolshevik regime constitutes an autonomous Soviet Socialist province within Georgia, occupies the northern part of K'art'li, above the Gori plain, between Radcha and the River K'san. By origin the Ossets are not Georgians, but by the fact of their settlement in Georgia they have, for centuries,

[1] Javakhishvili, *Frontiers of Georgia* (in Georgian), Tiflis, 1919, p. 41.

[2] "According to Vakhusht the name Kukhet'i went out of use during the period of Arab hegemony, when a local dynasty became established in Kakhet'i; and the name Heret'i was abandoned in 1466, when the Kingdom of Kakhet'i was set up." (See W. E. D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People*, London, 1932, pp. 62–3.)

[3] *History*, ... ii, p. 259.

[4] Or K'orikoz, the title of the Ruling Princes of Kakhet'i, in the early Middle Ages.

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been very closely associated both historically and culturally with them. They call themselves *Iron*, and occupy the very centre of the Great Caucasus which divides their country into two parts, the northern and southern, the latter of which lies within Georgia. This part of K'art'li, before the Ossets came from over the Caucasus chain, was inhabited by the Georgian Mountaineers called Dsanars (Dsan-ar).

Lower K'art'li :—

Gardabani, the eastern part of Lower K'art'li, along the lower valleys of the rivers K'tsia (Khram), and Berduji (Bortchalo).[1]

Gatchiani, west of Gardabani, the central part of Lower K'art'li, the middle valley of the K'tsia (Khram) and the Mashaveri valley, " from the River Skoret'i (the modern Vere or Vera) to the mountain which is Tashiri and Abotsi," [2] east of the Tchaldir Lake.

T'rialet'i, west of Gatchiani, the upper valley of the K'tsia (Khram), from the Lake P'aravan to the Borjom defile, called anciently *Tasis* or *Tashis Kari*.

In the Middle Ages the name Gardabani (Gardbani) or Khunani applied to the whole country between the Mtkvari in the north and the Pambak range in the south, including thus part of Inner K'art'li.

The southern part of Gardbani was known to the classical writers (Strabo, etc.) as *Gogarene*. The latter, the Georgian equivalent of which is *Gugaret'i*, covered, according to Professor Javakhishvili, the present day " Dchodchkani-Bolnis-Dmanisi valleys, Tashir, Abots (Kaikul), and the southern part of T'rialet'i. . . . The trace of the former name of this province is preserved in the present-day geographical name of Gujaret'i [Adontz, *Armenia*, p. 425, note]. . . . In Georgian geographical terminology this Gogarene-Gugaret'i was often called *K'vemo K'art'li*." [3]

In the tenth century there appeared yet another name for this province, namely *Somkhit'i*, by which name, however, was known only the Bolnis-Dmanis valley and the Lore plain.[4]

Upper K'art'li :—

The countries of the south-eastern littoral of the Black Sea :—

Adchara (Adjaristan of the Turks and the Russians), which under

[1] Gardabani is called (the country) below Dchapala, Nakhidur, and Tagnaget'a as far as the Mtkvari " (Marr, op. cit., p. 19, n. 6). Dchapala is a little west of Shulaveri. Gardabani or Gardbani was also called Khunani; the country derived its two names from those of its two chief towns, Gardbani and Khunani. Earlier, however, the town of Khunani was called Mtkvris-Tsikhe (" the Mtkvari's Castle or Fortress ") the ruined remains of which are known to-day as Qizqala (Kyzkala of the Russian maps) at the junction of the K'tsia and the Mtkvari.

[2] Gatchiani derived its name from that of its chief town, which was called also *Sanadiro K'alak'i* " the Hunting Town ". The sites of the towns Gatchiani and Gardabani remain as yet unidentified.

[3] Javakhishvili, *Frontiers*, p. 16. Since the introduction of the Russian administrative division most of K'vemo K'art'li has been known as the *Bortchalo* district.

[4] Ibid., p. 21.

3: Gugushvili E-4,5 (no date) 1935 RI1 Georgia

101 the present Bolshevik regime constitutes an autonomous Soviet
162 Socialist Republic within Georgia, borders on the Black Sea between
131 the River Tcholok' and the village Sarp, south of Batum, where begins
103 the present-day frontier line between Georgia and Turkey. Adchara is bounded on the north by the Adchara range; on the east by the Arsian range, where it borders upon Samtskhe; on the south by the Shavshet'i range, and on the south-west by the Dchorokh river.

K'obulet'i (K'ob-ul-et'-i), at present included within the autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Adchara (Adjaristan), occupied almost the whole Black Sea littoral of that country. Formerly, however, K'obulet'i formed part of Guria; Adchara proper constitutes the country between the Adchara and Shevshet'i ranges, or the basin of the river Adcharis-tsqali.

Livana, the country south of K'obulet'i, between the Black Sea coast and the lower basin of the Dchorokh as far as the town of Artvin.

Dchanet'i (Dchan-et'-i)—the country of the Dchan-s, Dchan-ians (Tchanians, Chanians of the Russians), better known as Lazistan—the country of the Laz, a narrow strip of land south of Livana, along the Black Sea coast, stretching towards Trebizond, and bounded on the east and south-east by the Dchanet'i or Pontic range, which divides it from Klarjet'i.

The countries of the Dchorokh basin :—

Shavshet'i, the country south of Adchara and east of Livana, bounded on the east by the Arsian range and on the south by the Shavshet'is-tsqali or Imerkhevi.

Klarjet'i, south of Shavshet'i, bounded on the east by the Arsian range and on the south by the Khekert'-dagh.[1] In the west Klarjet'i extended, according to medieval Georgian historians, L. Mroveli and Juansher, to the Black Sea; the present-day boundary, however, is the Dchanet'ian or Pontic range, where it borders upon Dchanet'i.

Tao, south of Klarjet'i, occupying the Bana-Olt'isi basin. The boundaries of Tao are not indicated in any of the early Georgian documents, but from the study of the scattered references contained in these documents Professor Javakhishvili [2] has come to the conclusion that within Tao the fortress of Panaskerti was near the north-eastern boundary and the village of Zedkareki, the present-day Zadgerekhi, near the south-eastern; Olt'isni (Olty of the Russian maps) was near the south-western and the fortress of Tukharisi [3] near the north-western, boundaries; and Ishkhani near the western boundary.

[1] Javakhishvili, op. cit., p. 328.
[2] Ibid., pp. 331–3.
[3] T'ukharisi was on the Dchorokh, on the boundary line between Tao and Klarjet'i for, according to an Armenian anonymous Geography, quoted by Javakhishvili, "the Dchorokh enters Klarjet'i near the fortress of T'ukharisi."

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Georgian sources mention the following divisions of Tao: Lower (*K'vemo*) Tao and *Imier* Tao, that is Tao *on that side* of the Bana-Olt'isi River. There must have been also, as Javakhishvili states, Upper (*Zemo*) Tao and *Amier* (" this side ") Tao. At the end of the tenth century *Imier* Tao was held by David the Great Kuropalat, a local Bagratid dynast (see pp. 120, 122), while *Amier* Tao constituted the paternal estate of King Bagrat III of Georgia (978–1014). After the death of David the Great Kuropalat († 1001), who died without an issue, *Imier* Tao was conquered by the Byzantine Emperor Basil (see Avalishvili, *La succession du Curopalate David d'Iberie, dynaste de Tao*, in *Byzantion*, Brussels, 1933, vol. viii; also Javakhishvili, op. cit., p. 332).

Basiani, south of Tao, the Plain of Pasin of the Turks.

Ispiri, the basin of the River Ispiris-tsqali, an eastern tributary of the Dchorokh; hence called also *Ispiris-kheoba*—the valley of Ispir.

T'ort'omi, the basin of the River *T'ort'omis-Mdinare*, a tributary of the Olt'isis-tsqali (Olti river), hence called also *T'ort'omis-kheoba* the Valley of T'ort'omi; it extended southward to the defile called *Sak'art'velos Qeli* by the Georgians and *Gurdji Boghaz*, " the Throat of Georgia," by the Turks, which lies north of Erzerum.

The " countries " of the Mtkvari basin :—

Samtskhe (Sa-mtskh-e), the country of the Mtskh-ians or Meskh-ians, in the north-east of Upper K'art'li, between the Arsian range on the west and the Tashis Kari (the Borjom defile) and the Lake Tbisquri (Tabistskhuri) in the east; on the south it was bounded by the Erushet'is-mt'a or Ulgar range and a line from above Khert'visi, at the junction of the Akhaltsikhis-tsqali (the P'otskhov river) with the Mtkvari, to the Lake Tbisquri.

Javakhet'i, the country south of Samtskhe and T'rialet'i, between the Arsian range on the west and the Javakhetian range (*Mokrye Gory*) on the east, extending to the Lakes Abotsi (Madatapa), Kardsakhi (Khozapin), and a line just above the town of Nak'alak'evi in the south.[1]

Artani (Artahani, Artaani; Ardagan of the Turks and the Russians), south of Javakhet'i, between the Arsian range (west) and the Lake Tchaldir (east).[2]

Kola, south of Artani and east of Tao, in which country, in the *Kolays Khevi*—the valley of Kola—is the source of the Mtkvari or the Kura of the Russians (in the Mountains of Kola—*Kolis-mt'a*—the present-day *Kula*, the Gel of the Russian maps).[1]

[1] Javakhishvili, *History*, vol. ii (1914), pp. 319, 322, 325.

[2] Javakhet'i and Artani as demarcated above include the country of *Erushet'i*, which constitutes the western part of the former and the northern part of the latter, lying thus between Samtskhe (north) and Artani (south).

101 162 103 131 *Abotsi*, called formerly *Palaktsio* and later *Qaiquli* (*Kaikul* of the Russian maps), the land south of Javakhet'i, between Artan-Kola (west) and Tashiri (east), divided from the latter by the mountains of Karakhatch or Qaraghaj (formerly called Irjan); on the south it was bounded by Mount Agh (Akh)-Baba.[1]

174 103 Upper K'art'li was, and is still, called **Meskhet'i** (Meskh-et'-i), which indicates that it constituted the country of the Meskh-s, Meskh-ians. The Meskhians were one of the first Georgian tribes to enter Transcaucasia and settle in what later became known as Georgia. There are evidences which enable us to deduce that they had spread earlier into Western Georgia and northward, and later into Eastern Georgia,[2] where they seem to have organized their political life with a centre at Mtskhet'a, the ancient capital of Georgia (from fourth century B.C. to fifth century A.D.).

"As the ancient metropolis of the Georgian Kingdom was called Mtskhet'a," states Professor Javakhishvili,[3] "one is led to the conclusion that when the Georgian tribes were settling in Georgia the Meskhian tribe must have possessed the greatest political importance, for the name of the ancient capital of Georgia, *Mtskhet'i* or *Mtskhet'a*, denotes Meskhet'i or 'the settlement of the Meskhians'; a similar form, *Mtskhe*, of the name of the Meskhians is preserved in the name of the country where later dwelt an inconsiderable part of the Meskhians, namely, in Samtskhe (Sa-mtskh-e); in this word as in the word Mtskhet'a, the *mtskhe* denotes Meskhians."

103 Of their domination in Eastern Georgia we are reminded to-day not only by the name of Mtskhet'a, but also by that of a whole province called Somkhit'i, part of Lower K'art'li, which, according to the late Professor N. Marr, represents a compound ethnic term composed of the names of two ethnic groups, the Son-s or Svanians and Meskh-s, Meskhians, denoting thus the country of the Svano-Meskhians.[4]

The name Meskhet'i in this sense implied a wider conception and included not only what later became known as Upper K'art'li, but also Inner K'art'li. Meskhet'i implies a wide conception even in the sense of Upper K'art'li; actually Meskhet'i proper, in the narrow, ethnographic sense, was only the upper valley of the Mtkvari from the Tasis

[1] Situated between Upper K'art'li or Meskhet'i and Lower K'art'li, Abotsi formed part sometimes of Meskhet'i and sometimes, particularly during the seventeenth–eighteenth centuries, of Lower K'art'li (Javakhishvili, *Frontiers of Georgia*, pp. 35–6).

[2] Meskhians were preceded in Eastern Georgia by other Georgian tribes, such as Kasko-Kolkhians whence the names Kakhet'i, Kukhet'i, etc. An article dealing with the question of the settlement of the Georgian tribes in Transcaucasia will be published in a future number of *Georgica*.

[3] *History*, vol. i, (1913), p. 89.

[4] Son-meskh, resp. Shon-meskh → so-mehkh → so-mekh → = → so-mkh → so-mkh-et'-i. N. Marr, *Astronomical and ethnic meanings of two tribal names of the Armenians* (in Russian), in *Bulletin* ("*Zapiski*") *of the Eastern Branch of the Russian Archæological Society*, St. Pb., 1921, p. 252.

3: Gugushvili E-4, 5 (no date) 1935 RI1 Georgia

conception) covering each other territorially differ chronologically, 103
while in another (with a narrower conception) coinciding chronologically differ territorially". We have also seen how and why one name replaced another. Now one tribe would gain the ascendancy and establish its hegemony, now another, as if vieing with each other in moulding, each after its own ideal, what was then an agglomeration of Georgian tribes, into a homogeneous body called a nation. This process of inter-tribal supersedence, of mingling and blending, of national-cultural fusion, has been so slow and peaceful, that it has remained, as the late S. Gorgadze, a well-known Georgian historian, observes, unnoticed by the outside world, so that "the foreign writers who have, during the period under review,[1] said something about Eastern Georgia, obstinately call the country 'Iberia' or 'Iveria' and not 'K'art'li' or 'Meskhet'i' or 'Kakhet'i', just as the same writers called Western Georgia for a long time 'Kolkhida' and only towards the end of the period changed it to 'Lazica', although having regard to the new composition of the population at this time 'Egeria' or 'Egrisi' would have been a more suitable term than any other ethnic name."[2]

In the opinion of the late Professors N. Y. Marr and I. Kipshidze, 144
the eminent Georgian scholars, and their school of thought, the Iberians are the ancestors of the Western Georgians, the Egro-Megrelians (Mingrelians), Imerians (Imeretians), and Gurians, which ethnic names represent mere dialectic variations of the name Iber.

According to Marr: "Under the Iberians in the local ethno- 101
graphic meaning of the term one should understand not the Eastern but the Western Georgians—more correctly the central, that is, the second series of the Georgian tribes, dwelling beyond the maritime Laz, and adjoining upon them, spread along the inner zone of Caucasia, like a curve from Sper to Svanet'i, consequently including a greater part, if not the whole, of Megrelia."[3]

If Iber and Iberian denoted the "Western Georgian", the question that naturally suggests itself is how did the "Eastern Georgian" come to be called by this name? To this question the late Professor Kipshidze gives the following answer: "We know that Eastern Georgia was called Iveria. Strabo, describing Iveria and Kolkhida, sharply separates them one from the other. This evident contradiction finds an explanation in that usual historical occurrence, when the name of one people is transferred to another because of the political supersedence of the one over the other. Evidently there was a time before

[1] This period is sixth century B.C.—seventh century A.D. (A.D. 643 the date of the Arab invasion of Georgia).

[2] S. R. Gorgadze, *Ancient History of Georgia* (in Georgian), Kutais, 1920, 3rd ed., p. 44. [113]

[3] N. Marr, *Baptism of the Armenians, Georgians, Abkhasians, and Alans, by St. Gregory, an Arab version*, in *Zapiski* of the Eastern Branch of the Imperial Russian Archæological Society, St. Pbs., 1906, vol. 16, p. 170.

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101 the Christian era when the Ivers dominated politically their eastern kinsmen, the K'art's (Georgians), in consequence of which Eastern Georgia began to be called Iveria, just in the same way as when later on the K'art's seized the political helm of the country, they gave to both parts of the country one common politico-cultural name of Sak'art'velo, that is, Georgia, establishing the Georgian (K'art'lian) everywhere as the literary ecclesiastical language and completely 'Kartlianizing' the greater half of the Iverians, namely the present-day Imerians, Gurians, and Adcharians." [1]

To quote once more the late Professor Marr: "The Greeks call Georgia and Georgians, to the great amazement of the Georgians themselves, Iveria and Iberians, and the same appellation is repeated after the Greeks, to the still greater amazement of the Georgians, by the Armenians (*vir-k*, *Veria*, in the *Geography* of Khoren). Particularly astonishing is this term from the lips of the Armenians who, one should have thought, could have known that Georgians called their country *K'art'li* (from **K'art'w-i*, *Sak'art'velo*—the latest national-cultural and often also political term) and themselves *K'art'vel*." [2]

103 Last, but not the least, is the term *Georgia* itself, which is unknown to the Georgians themselves. This term appears to have taken a circuitous route to reach Western Europe. Though very foreign both in appearance and vocalization, it is, in fact, according to Marr, Georgian by origin and its home the land of the Eger-Megrelians, in Western Georgia, for it is derived from the same stem (*Eger*, *Ger*, resp. **Gver*, *Gur*), which with the equally Georgian suffix *dz-en*, resp. *z-an* appears in the Syriac *Gur-zan*, the Arabic جُرذان or جُرجان.[3]

The Arabic كُرج represents the same stem *Gur* with a pure tribal name-suffix *dj*, resp. *dz*. And from this stem Gurdj, resp. Gurz are derived, Marr declares, the Russian form *Gruziya* (< *Gur-ziya) and the Western European *Georgia*.

Melikset-Bekov, however, gives a different interpretation of the origin of this name. In his opinion the Persian *Gurdj-an* and Arabic

[1] I. Kipshidze, *A Grammar of the Mingrelian (Iverian) Language* (in Russian), St. Pb., 1914, p. xiv. See also Melikset-Bekov, op. cit., pp. 75–6.

[2] Marr further mentions the fact that the Georgians themselves call Armenia and Armenian "to a no less amazement of the Armenians" Somkhet'i and Somekhi respectively. The amazement of the Armenians with regard to the latter case must be shared also by the Georgians who know their historical ethnography, for it is indisputable that names ending in *kh-i*, as in Kol-kh-i (dialectically *Koro-kh-i, resp. Kolo-kh-i, whence the names of the Rivers Dchoro-kh-i = Dchorokh, Dcholo-kh-i = Dcholok'), Ka-kh-i = Kakhet'i, Mes-kh-i = Meskhian, Tao-kh-i = Tao, etc., are, understanding the term in a generic sense, characteristic of the Georgian tribal names. The Georgians, however, becoming acquainted with the Armenians in the first place through their own kinsmen, who colonized the Georgian district of Somkhiti, transferred the name of the original Georgian inhabitants of this district to the Armenians" (*Baptism*, etc., p. 167).

[3] N. Marr, *Baptism*, etc., p. 169, n. 2.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction and Background

101

From remote antiquity the Caucasus has attracted the interest and imagination of ancient people. The Caucasus was the limit of the world for the Egyptians; for the Greeks it was a land of wonders and of wealth, "rich in natural fertility and mineral wealth, where the cities were embowered in orchards, the vines hung wild from the fruit trees, and the rivers ran gold—gold which the natives secured by the simple device of leaving sheepskins in the mountain streams to catch the precious metal." The Caucasus was to ancient Greeks the country of the golden fleece and they place the heroes of their beautiful myths in a Caucasian setting. The myth of Argonauts, concerning the principal heroes of the Hellenic world, relates their adventures in search of the golden fleece in ancient Colchis—western Georgia of the present time. The myth of Prometheus places him chained upon one of the summits of the Caucasus. "Aeschylus has secured for the remote snows of the Caucasus their place in the world's poetry. He has celebrated them as the prison of Prometheus,"[1] who stole some embers of fire from heaven and brought them to mankind.

"Rapidas Limosi Phasidos undas" writes Ovid, (*Met.* VII. 6) about ancient Phasis, the present river Rion. The ark of Noah landed on the mount of Ararat, as is believed, at the southern edge of the Caucasian peninsula. The ethnologists of the past regarded the Caucasus as the cradle of humanity. For others the Caucasus was the refuge and hiding place of many peoples. The writers of the ancient world and even of quite modern times describe the Caucasus as the land of a multitude of races, nations and tongues. The Arab writers called the Caucasus "Jebel-al-Suni," meaning "the mountain of languages." The ancient historian, Strabo, in describing the Caucasus, relates that in the city

[1] Freshfield: I, 3.

6: Grigolia E-4, 5 (no date) 1939 RI1 Georgia RI1

101 of Dioscurias peoples of so many languages came to the market for commercial purposes that scores of interpreters were employed for business transactions.

If we put myths and antiquities on the side for the while, and look on the Caucasus with modern eyes, trying to see and understand things as they are, we shall have before us a comparatively small area of the earth, situated between Europe and Asia, and inhabited by various peoples of different languages. In its topographical and climatic conditions, the Caucasus shows great variety. Just as there are great differences in the climate of the Caucasus Mountains, there are also differences in the composition of the population of the peninsula. There are peoples of different customs, habits of life and physical features. We may divide them into two major groups: (1) the aborigines of the Caucasus, and (2) the actual inhabitants of the Caucasus. The last mentioned group comprises peoples, nations and even races representing the newcomers who migrated to the country in historical times, as, for example, the Persians, Tartars, Turks, Slavs, Greeks, and others. On the other hand, by the aborigines of the Caucasus we understand those who are not related at the present time in their speech to any other group of the human race, being the so-called Japhetids of Professor Marr. We accept the name with no obligation to follow all conclusions and views of Professor Marr concerning this theory. As a matter of precaution we may mention the view of A. Dirr on this point. It cannot be accepted, according to Dirr's reasoning.[2] He states that there is much truth in Marr's theory and that its discovery is comparable in importance to that of the unity of Indo-Germanic languages; still, "Marr has altered his thesis or rather 'Procrustean bed,' on which he lies, and maims languages to such an extent that Dirr can no longer follow him, but must protest strongly against the attempt to bring into philology the political view now propagated from Moscow, of the subjugation of the Orient by Indo-European 'bourgeois colonial policy.'"[3]

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[2] Dirr: b, 109.
[3] Wardrop: b, 187-8.

6: Grigolia E-4, 5 (no date) 1939 RI1 Georgia RI1

The Japhetids of the Caucasus occupy on the peninsula an area approximately similar in form to a triangle, the base of which is on the eastern shores of the Black Sea, and its apex approaching the northwestern part of the Caspian Sea. They are composed of the following groups: (1) the Northwest group, or the Western mountaineers, comprising the Adighe nation, with subdivisions of Circassians and Kabardians, Ubych, and Abkhazes; (2) the Northeast group, composed of the Chechen and Lesghian groups or the mountaineers of Daghestan; and (3) in the Southwest, the Georgian nation, with subdivisions of Georgians proper, Megrelians, Svans, and Lazes.

Among all these three groups live the Ossetes, a people who belong linguistically to the Indo-Germanic branch, and show, excepting their language, close similarity to the above-mentioned peoples of the Caucasus. Taking into consideration this fact and the time of their appearance in the Caucasus, we are fully justified in treating them in our discussion together with the peoples of the Caucasus, although not counting them as related to these peoples.

Not only by their language do the peoples of the Caucasus attract the attention of investigators, but also by their customs, manner of life, beliefs and historic past, which show such peculiarities that they are of great interest for study and investigation.

Our aim in this work is to discuss the conditions of social life and customs practiced among the four small groups of the Georgian nation, who, secluded for many centuries in almost inaccessible defiles of the mountains, still preserve their peculiar customs, which have drawn the attention of many investigators who visited the country. These groups are: the Khevsurs, Pshavs and Tushes in the east, and the Svans in the west.

Their exact number is not known, although there is much statistical data giving different figures. For example, an interesting fact is brought out by the Russian investigator, Gurko-Kriajin,[4] concerning the Khevsurs. This author shows the contradiction in the statistical data concerning the number of

[4] Gurko-Kriajin: 270.

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101 162 Khevsurs: the data show that in 1838 there were 1,510 Khevsurs living; in 1855 the number is shown as 3,500; in 1873 the population was 5,846; in 1891, 7,000; in 1900, 6,560; in 1924, 10,000; in 1926, 3,527. According to the latest statistical data, of January 4, 1927, there were 3,564 Khevsurs living. This deficiency in the data may be accounted for by the behavior of the people themselves. They mistrust any sort of official numbering, being suspicious of any new laws which might hinder their liberty.

The Khevsurs occupy the mountain area east of the Kasbek and the Georgian military road. The country is divided into two parts, called in the Georgian *Pirikitheli*, meaning "on the other side," situated on the northern slopes of the main ridge. The larger portion of the country is situated on the southern slopes of the main ridge, and is called in the Georgian, Pirakitheli. Khevsuria is composed of five communities: Arabauli, Chincharauli, Arkhotionu, Shatilioni, and Pirikitheli. This land is situated between the lands of the Tushes and the Pshavs—also Georgian mountaineers (*M'thiuls*)—and the land of the Kists. The Tushes some 10,000 in number, occupy the Thionet region of the department of Tiflis, on the banks of the river Aragva and on both sides of the river Iora, which flows into the river Alazani. The Pshavs, numbering about 15,000 persons, form twelve communities. Tushetia is composed of four communities: Tsova, Gometsari, Perikitheli, and Chagmi. Under the tsarist Russian government, the Tushes, Pshavs and Khevsurs comprised one administrative district. The Svans—the fourth group of Georgian Highlanders—occupy the main part of the ridge, Eastern Georgia, and are about 8,000 in number. They live in the high valleys of the rivers Ingur and Tskenis-tskali, and their territory is divided into three parts: (1) the former Dadian Svanetia, under the rule of the former Megrelian lords, Dadiani; (2) the former Princely Svanetia, subject to the princes Dadeshkeliani; and (3) Free Svanetia.

596 621 The Khevsurs, Pshavs, and Tushes, as well as the Svans, are divided into separate communities. The communities in turn are composed of family groups, which may be regarded as the social units among the Georgian Highlanders. The family group is not the same among the different peoples. For example, among the

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Chevsur

Thamar, when visiting Khevsuria, brought with her a Jew who was taken ill and remained there; afterward he married and from him originated the village of Biso.

Among the Pshvas, neighbors of the Khevsurs, we find that of the six families forming the community Chargal, three are of foreign origin. The community consists of the following six families: Pirkutiani, Shaverdiani, Padjkaani, Baiani, Gordzamauli, and Guraspauli; from them the Gordzamauli are emigrants from the Georgian province of Kakhetia; the Baiani have Tartar origin, and the Guraspauli are the descendants of a captive from the Mokhev-Georgians.[8]

Among the Tushes we find the same phenomenon in the development of their community as was found among their neighbors, the Khevsurs and the Pshavs.

The people of the Tushes comprise four communities: Tsova, Gometsari, Pirikitheli and Chagmi. The members of Tsova belong to the Galgai tribe of Kists and originally lived in the defile of Gligva, formed by the river of the same name, on the northern slopes of the ridge. From there they migrated to the land of the Tushes and settled down in the region occupied by them at the present time, at the source of the river Alazani. They still partially preserve their Kistian language, their present language being a mixture of Tush and Kistian. As for the other Tush communities—Gometsari, Pirikitheli and Chagmi—they were made up of emigrants and refugees of different peoples, such as Georgians, Pshavs, Khevsurs, Lesghians, Didos, Kists, and other tribes of the Caucasus.

Besides the examples cited above showing, on the basis of traditional and historic data, the formation of the social groups of the Georgian Highlanders from the different alien elements, there is also another factor confirming this phenomenon; that is, the absence of the typical physical traits among them. Thus, in reality, there is not one physical type of Khevsur, Pshav, Tush or Svan. This circumstance clearly advocates the heterogeneity of the component parts of their communities and the admixture

[8] Machabeli: I, 385.

6: Grigolia E-4, 5 (no date) 1939 RI1 Georgia RI1
Tush

562 and deities. Besides this, woman has full right to vote and take part equally with man in the family conferences, where she expresses her views, which are taken into consideration and many times accepted and followed. She mingles freely with men, takes part in their discussions, jokes, keeps herself without reserve, but at the same time does not lose her dignity.[20]

The personal rights of woman were protected by her kin, and for every mistreatment of his wife without any motive from her part, the Khevsur husband was responsible before her kinsfolk. "In Keinem Falle," writes Merzbacher[21] concerning this matter, "aber ist dem Manne gestatted, seine Frau schlecht zu behandeln. Hierfuer ist er der ganzem Gemeinde verantwortlich."

Concerning the Tush women, they are more reserved than their Khevsur and Pshav sisters. "Every honest woman is expected to be a good house-keeper, modest and shy," writes A. L. Zisserman about the Tush woman.[22] The Tush woman is characterized in the same way by Professor A. Khakhanov. "Woman among the Tushes is prominent with her shy and modest character," he writes.[23] "She hides herself from an unexpected guest, talks only with her relatives and intimate acquaintances, and in general the less free she is in her behaviour, the higher her personal qualities are rated." This reserved position of woman among the Tushes in comparison with that of the other Georgian Highlanders may be explained through two main causes: economic and historico-political. The occupation of the people is principally pastoral; they have large flocks of sheep and most of the time the men are absent from their homes, so that the women are obliged to perform, besides the work about the house, the field work also. The second cause may be ascribed to the geographical position of the country. Tushetia adjoins the rich Georgian province of Kakhetia, and is nearer and more accessible to the political and cultural center (Tiflis). Consequently, besides many other influences, there was the Islamic influence affecting the status of

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[20] Gurko-Kriajin: 281.
[21] Merzbacher: II, 70.
[22] Zisserman: 254.
[23] Khakhanov: a, 52.

6: Grigolia E-4, 5 (no date) 1939 RI1 Georgia RI1

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woman, and placing her, among the Tushes, in a more reserved position than among the Khevsurs, Pshavs and Svans.

The personal and social rights of woman among the Svans were much higher than among other Georgian Highlanders. The Svan woman is not shy and reserved. Mr. Bakradze[24] relates that he "was delighted with the ease and freedom of their manners," and he adds: "They entered into conversation with me, joked, waited upon me, and flirted." There is no ground to regard the Svan woman as devoid of all rights.[25] Subordinated to her husband, she enjoys at the same time considerable privileges in the matter of her personal and property rights. And as for her social position, it should be noted that the Svans, more than any other peoples of the Caucasus, allow their women to take the witness stand and even to be mediators during judicial proceedings. The women of Svanetia often take that high stand in the social life which was given to women among the ancient Germans, who called women *Friedenwebe* (peace-web), meaning peace-making, because of their ability to bring about peace among the hostile tribes. Women[26] often stopped the blood-feuds and killings between inimical parties.[27] This conciliatory role of woman was especially prominent among the Khevsurs and Tushes, who had great respect for the woman's head-dress, the shawl, called *mandili,* which is worn only by married women.

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Mandili has an important meaning in the eyes of the mountaineers,[27] it is regarded among the Tushes as inviodable and even as a sacred object. More than once the *mandili* put an end to quarrels and bloody encounters between hostile families. It is sufficient for a woman to take off her *mandili* and put it before the feet of an enraged mountaineer, for he is then obliged to put his brandishing dagger in the scabbard at once, and retire. Describing this custom among the same Tushes, Zisserman[28] regards it as "remarkable, chivalrous respect of woman." The same custom of respecting woman's *mandili* was and is observed also among

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[24] Bakradze: 45.
[25] Kovalevsky: 2, II, 51-2.
[26] Stoianov: 435.
[27] Khakhanov: 2, 52.
[28] Zisserman: 252.

ments of history, philosophy and literature of the Armenian Academy of Sciences, have been found guilty of bourgeois nationalism and deviations and criticized accordingly by the Armenian Communist Party leadership.[20]

Thus there is ample evidence that the Armenians have been unable to accept the double-faced role which the Soviet Government has tried to assign to them. The Soviet régime, indeed, expected that the Armenians would be Armenian nationalists in their relations with the Turks and Persians, but, at the same time, good communists and Soviet patriots inside the Soviet boundaries. Whilst fulfilling the first part of the ideological assignment, the Armenians have remained largely nationalists inside the Soviet Union as well.

The Armenians feel the isolation which the communist régime imposed on the peoples of the U.S.S.R. much more than most other nationalities in view of their great traditions, the large number of their intellectuals and the extensive contacts which they used to keep up with the world at large. The repatriates who came to Soviet Armenia after the Second World War, were bound to find it particularly difficult to accept the totalitarian order ruling in the homeland of their race. Many of them had come from democratic or at least comparatively democratic surroundings. These repatriates have learned by their own experience that Russia offers to the Armenians security in a purely physical sense, but not the possibility of a genuine spiritual and national survival.

II. GEORGIANS

Not only are the Georgians neighbours of the Armenians but their history and area of settlement are so much intertwined with those of the Armenians that it is often impossible to say where Georgian history begins and Armenian history ends. It would be wrong, however, to conclude from this that the historic destiny of the two peoples was in any way identical. The Georgians, though they had suffered a great deal, did not bear the cross of a 'chosen people' – they led nominally an independent religious existence but had no special dogmas of their own such as brought about the isolation of the Armenian Church from the rest of the Christian world.

'GEORGIAN-RUSSIAN BROTHERHOOD'

Georgia was less exposed to foreign invaders than Armenia partly because the Armenians frequently played the part of the shield which protected the Georgians. Although Georgians and Armenians often became simultaneously victims of aggression, there were other cases when Armenians were subjugated, but Georgians spared. The precarious role of a small Christian people which, for geographical reasons, was at

7:Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
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a most crude way, which sometimes is found so obtrusive and shocking in many Oriental countries of the present epoch. The technical backwardness--actual or imagined--is thus often matched by a technocratic overemphasis which threatens to level out everything these countries have produced and contributed to their own and to common human culture.

Georgians

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The K'art'velians or Georgians proper have been split into two groups, an eastern and western, by the intrusion of Oset'i from the north and the Azerbaidjanians from the southeast. The latter extend as far northwestward as the immediate vicinity of the modern capital of Georgia, Tiflis, (in Georgian: T'bilisi, [103] "Hot Springs" from the stem tp'ili [Georgian] "warm;" common with Indo-European, cf. Slav. [Čech.] place-name Teplice, "Hot Springs," mentioned above; Lat. tepidus, "warm," etc.); and from Tiflis southeastward, the Azerbaidjanians hold the entire valley of the Kura (in Georgian: Mtkvari, Strabon's Kyros). The Georgians hold only the Aragvi valley (Strabon's Aragos), the upper Iora, almost the entire Alazani (Strabon's Alazonios) —this is Kakhet'ia, and the upper Kura valley. The Meskhi-Surami Range and the eastern and southern portion of Colchis, Imeret'ia (practically all the land at the left bank, i.e., south

C. G. 162 101 and east of the Rioni) are Georgian, and Imeret'ian and other west Georgian dialects are spoken there. To the Georgian area belongs also Adjaristan (Adžaristan), the valley of the Acharis-Tskhali, which borders in the south and west on Azerbaidjanian and Osman speaking peoples, and in the west, with the Laz people. The Adjarians (Acharians), like their neighbors, are of Mohammedan faith.

T'ushuri, Khevsuri and P'shaveli

The northeasternmost Georgians, living in the alpine parts of the central Caucasus, are an interesting and distinct people. Although they speak East-K'art'velian dialects and are Orthodox Christians, the Georgians do not consider them as the same nation. The reasons are not only their inaccessibility and age-long seclusion and independence, but also customs and manners which in this way have been preserved from by-gone times. These remote people make up three tribes: the T'ushuri, Khevsuri, and P'shaveli, who live in the high valleys of the source rivers of the Andi-Koisu, Aragvi, and Argun, and of the Iora. In sharp contrast to other Caucasian peoples, blue eyes are not rare with them. Shields, spears, straight long swords, iron or steel helmets, coats of mail and armor were worn by many of them (usually the Khevsurs) as late as the nineteenth century, and in a few instances, even after the Russian Revolution.

C. G. [142] 411 713

Georgia RII
Khevsurs, Pschv,
Tushin

C. G. [713] Some had the sign of the cross upon their shields, so that they looked exactly like medieval European knights and Crusaders.

C. G. 764 171 Up in the country of the Khevsurs a few very ancient churches can be found; near these, often isolated, stand some typically Khevsurian tomb structures or burial chapels unique in the Caucasus. Funeral ceremonies held by the Khevsurs are (or were ?) often accompanied by horse races, an ancient custom of horse-breeding nomads of the steppes. (This custom is reminiscent of the "dokhia" [δόχια] of some Turkic tribes in the plains near the Altai, described by the Byzantine envoy Menandros Protector, who was sent in 568 to the Great-Khan of the Türküt in the Altai region, a territory which is now part of northwestern Mongolia.) Perhaps the Khevsurs borrowed this custom from the Alans, the nomadic ancestors of the present-day Oset'i.

S'vanet'ians

C. G. 162 101 Another K'art'velian group which in its mountainous seclusion has preserved numerous ancient customs and traditions is the Svans (or Shvan, Strabon's Soanes [Σοάνες]), who live in the high valleys of the Ingur and Ts'khenis-Tskhali, just south of the central high massifs of the Caucasus, between Gvandra and Shkhara. Their language is the most archaic of all the K'art'velian tongues. The Svans are

C. G. [141] outstanding for their height; two meters is not rare.

000 outstanding for their height; two meters is not rare.

C. G. 361 342 Svanet'ia is perhaps the only Caucasian country where every individual house is a real fortress. The mountain villages, usually known by the Turkic term aul all over the Caucasus, always consist of a certain number of houses fortified by defense towers. In some parts of the Caucasus every second or third house, or rather estate, has such a tower. In Dagestan, in general, about three-quarters of the houses of a village are fortified. In Svanet'ia, however, most houses are built of stone and have their own tower. It was known to classical C. G. [101] antiquity that many, or at least some, Caucasian peoples dwelt in towers, and the Mossynoikoi, mentioned above as metal workers,[1] were accordingly called "tower dwellers" (mossyn meaning "tower"; Xenophon V, 5; Strabon XII, 3, 18). For lack of wood, brushwood, and clay, stone is the only building material in many auls; but in most auls the houses, usually called by the K'art'uli term sakhli, are built of stone for reasons of defense. When the auls are built up the slopes of mountains, the sakhlis are arranged in staircase fashion one above the other, so that it is possible to go through the larger part of an aul using the roofs as the only path, i.e., by climbing from one roof to another. The roofs are flat and consist of stamped clay spread out

[1] [cf. cat. 116, p. 207 -- Analyst]

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Mingrelians

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In the northwestern, malaria-infested part of Colchis live the Mingrelians. In the region of Ochamchire, the area is interrupted by the southeastern strip of the Abkhaz, and another group of Mingrelians lives north and northwest of the city of Sukhumi. Occupationally, they do not differ from the Georgians. The charm and beauty of the Mingrelian women is always praised by Caucasians and foreigners alike.

Laz

As their languages prove, the Mingrelians are the closest relatives of the Laz (or Chan, the Sannoi [ ] of Strabon). A very small minority of the Laz live on Soviet territory right at the frontier, near the estuary of the Chorokh; the vast majority live along the Black Sea coast, from the Chorokh estuary southwestward as far as the Turkish town of Pazar (or Atina) half-way from Batumi to Trapezunt (Turkic: Trabzon, Tarabzun).

Minorities

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Each town and city of the Caucasus has a variety of minorities. The population of some towns seems to have consisted at certain

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Grusians

I. PALEOCAUCASIAN PEOPLES

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On the basis of linguistic criteria the Paleocaucasian peoples fall into three groups: A Southern group with ca. 2,250,000 speakers, a North-Western group with ca. 350,000 speakers and a North-Eastern group with ca. 1,300,000 speakers.

C. G. 101

A. South Caucasian Peoples

The peoples belonging to the Southern (Kartvelian, Iberian) group occupy the western and central part of the territory between the Great and Little Caucasus, i.e. the basins of the rivers Chorokh, Rioni, Ingur, the upper Kura, Iora and Alazani; this is the territory of the Georgian SSR. The Kartvelian group comprises four peoples: the Svan, the Mingrelians, the Laz and the Georgians.

a. The more than 2 million Georgians are not only by far the most numerous of the Paleocaucasian peoples, but also the only one with an old political tradition and a literary language that goes back into the 5th century A. D. They call themselves Kartveli, pl. Kartvelni, and their language Kartuli ena; from this is derived the term Sakartvelo denoting since the Middle Ages the Georgian state and political territory, and the newly formed adjective kartveluri applied to the South Caucasian languages and peoples as a

C. G. 101

whole. The sense of the term Kartveli has expanded; it referred originally only to the inhabitants of the central and politically leading province of Kartli with the capitals Tiflis and in older times Mtskheta. The European designations: Italian Georgiano, French Géorgien, English Georgia and Georgian, German Georgien and Georgier, derive from the Persian name Gurdj (pl. Gurdjan, adj. Gurdji) heard by the crusaders and spelt by them so as to connect it with the name of Saint George. The Persian Gurdj adopted also by the Turks goes back to Sasanide Persian Waručan - Parthian Wirčan; the latter shows the stem wir - which appears in the Armenian designation of the Georgians Virk, sing. Vratsi; the connection with this stem of the Greek name of the forefathers of the Georgians, the Iberes, is very doubtful. From another Persian name-form Gurz, pl. Gurzan, found already in Syriac sources of the beginning of the 8th century, are derived the Russian terms Gruziya (country) and Gruziny (inhabitants).

C. G. 197

The Georgian dialects, which in the main do not show great differences, are divided by the range of the Surami mountains into two groups. To the Eastern group belong the dialects of Kartli, of K'akheti, the country between the river Iora and the mountains of Dagestan, of the Ingilo, islamized Georgians on the river Alazani, and of the mountain

C. G. 197 tribes: Tush on the upper course of the Andian Koisu, Khevsur on the upper course of the rivers (Eastern) Aragvi and Argun, Pshavs south of them on the Aragvi and the upper Iora, Mokhev and Mtiul on the upper Terek, Western Aragvi and Ksani. The Western group consists of the dialects of Upper and Lower Imereti with the center Kutaisi, of the mountainous regions of Rach'a on the Upper Rioni and Lechkhum in the west of Rach'a, and of Guria south of the Rioni, reaching the Black Sea between Poti and Kobuleti. The Ach'arians south of the Gurians and west of Batum do not differ from them in speech, but in culture, being Mohammedans, and therefore have received the status of an Autonomous Republic.

C. G. J01 b. The Mingrelians, numbering about 300,000 occupy the territory north of the lower Rioni and west of the Tskhenis-tskali extending on the coast of the Black Sea from the mouth of the Rioni up to the town of Ochemchire. They call their country Odishi and themselves Margali; this name is, somewhat distorted, already mentioned by Ptolemy. It corresponds to Georgian Megreli, a derivation from Egrisi, as Mingrelia is called in the Old Georgian documents and by the Armenian geographers. It is probable that Mingrelian in former times occupied a much larger territory, i.e., all Western Georgia, as it is now separated by Gurian from the closely related Laz, and the Western dialects of Georgian show a Mingrelian substrate.

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Mingrel, Laz, Svan

000 Georgian show a Mingrelian substrate.
C. G. 197 Mingrelian has never been a literary language; in the schools, Georgian is the language of teaching so that in the last decades Mingrelian has notably changed in favour of a closer resemblance to Georgian. Many of the modern Georgian authors are of Mingrelian origin.

C. G. 101 c. The Laz live on the seacoast and in the valleys of the small rivers falling into the Black Sea between the towns of Khope and Atina. Only a very small part (730 persons according to the census of 1926) live in Soviet territory; the large majority live in Turkish territory (ca. 47,000 acc. to the Turkish census of 1945). All Laz speak Turkish in public and use their mother tongue only as a home language. Laz is full of Turkish loanwords; even the name Lazi which the Laz use for themselves is borrowed from Turkish. The Georgians call them Ch'ani which corresponds to Tzanoi used by Procopius. Lazike was in Roman and Byzantine times the designation not only of modern Lazistan, but also of all Western Georgia, having superseded the old Greek name of Colchis. The Laz language is in phonology almost identical with Mingrelian, but in grammar shows considerable peculiarities. It has never been written except for scientific recording.

C. G. [191]
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C. G. [197]

d. The Svan (Svanetians) inhabit two valleys in the high mountain chains south of

C. G. 101 Mt. Elbrus which in winter were nearly inaccessible before the building of modern roads. The southern valley formed by the upper course of the river Tskhenis-tskali and its tributary Kheledula, formerly belonged to Mingrelia and was called Svanetia of the Dadiani, Dadiani being the name of the ruling family of Mingrelia. The northern valley is that of the Upper Ingur; its lower part in the West was ruled by a family of Abkhaz princes and is known as Svanetia of the Dadishkeliani, the eastern part is called Free Svanetia. The number of the Svan amounts to 22,000 (the number 13,129 given by the census of 1926 is due to some misunderstanding). They call themselves Shwan, sing. Mushwän or Mushwni; the Georgians call them Svani (country: Svaneti), and under this name they were known to Strabo (Soanes) and Pliny (Suani). According to the latter, they were able to set up a military force of 40,000 men. The study of place-names reveals that their territory in former times extended farther south than now.

The Svan and the Georgian mountain tribes (Khevsur, Tush, Pshav, etc.) though they consider themselves to belong to the Georgian nation are culturally in many respects closer to the North Caucasian peoples than to their linguistic relatives in the south.

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Abchas, Adige

B. NORTH-WEST CAUCASIAN PEOPLES.

C. G. 101

The North-West Caucasian peoples include the Abkhaz and the Circassians. Up to 1865, the group included a third member, the Ubykh; these, however, emigrated to a man to Turkey after the Russian conquest.

a. The Abkhaz, numbering close to 60,000, live on the Black Sea coast south of the Great Caucasus between the rivers Psou and Ingur. They call themselves Apswa, their country Apsny. In classical antiquity, they were known by the names Absilae (Pliny the Elder, 1st cent. A. D.) and Abasgoi (Arrian, 2nd cent. A. D.). Though since the Middle Ages Abkhazia has been part of the Georgian political territory (and at present the Abkhaz ASSR is part of the Georgian SSR), the Abkhaz, like their Circassian and Ubykh neighbors, preserved a tribal organization and were only to a minor extent affected by the literate culture of Georgia. Small groups of Abkhaz speakers have at different times migrated across the Great Chain to the north; these Abkhaz are now living at the sources of the rivers Kuban and Zelenchuk, and form part of the population of the Cherkes AO. They are known by the name Abaza (R. Abazintsy) and numbered ca. 13,000 in 1926.

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b. The Circassians or -- as they call themselves -- Adyghe live in the basins of the

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1. GEORGIANS

C. G. 101 **NAME**: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kartveli, pl. Kartvelni. The name is applied to all the Kartvelian peoples (see below under "Language"); its derivate "Sakartvelo" denotes traditionally the Georgian state and political territory.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Gruziny.

OTHER DESIGNATION: (Armenian:) Vratsi; (Turkish, Persian:) Gürdzhi; (Abkhaz:) Akýrtwa.

C. G. 161 **NUMBER**: 1897 1,097,000 (Russian census)
1926 1,564,333 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,610,458 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 2,248,566 (Russian census)

The 1939 figure includes the Mingrelians, Laz, and Svan. The Turkish census of 1945 lists 40,076 speakers of Georgian.

C. G. 162 **LOCATION**: Western and central part of the territory between the mountains of the Great and Little Caucasus, with the lower Alazani river as E border. Of this area are excepted (1) the territory NW of the lower Rioni and Tskhenis-Tskali (which is inhabited by Mingrelians, Svan, and Abkhaz) and (2) the part of the country SW of the lower Chorokh (which is Laz territory). On the other hand, the Georgians extend beyond the Little Caucasus in the SW, where they live in the basins of the upper Kura and Araks. Politically, the main mass lives in the Georgian SSR, extending into the

C. G. 162 adjoining districts of N Azerbaidzhan (Kakh rayon) and NE Turkey (districts of Artvin, Ardahan, Ardanuch, Olti). Isolated from the main body, speakers of Georgian (the Fereidan) constitute the population of 14 villages in the province of Isfahan, Iran.

C. G. 619 ● 101 Tribal breakdown (with indication of Georgian names of tribes):

1. East Georgians: Kakhetians (K'akheli): easternmost part of Georgia, E of the Kura and Aragvi rivers. A special sub-dialect is spoken in the district of Kiziqi (Russ. Signakh) between the Yori and Alazani rivers; Kartlians (Kartleli): their area is that of Georgia minus those of the other tribes, it is subdivided into regions: Somkhiti, Dzhavakheti, Tao, Klardzheti, etc. ; Ingilo (Ingilo): between the Alazani and the main Caucasian chain; Tush (Tushi, Tushuri): on the upper course of the Andiiskoe Koisu; Khevsur (Khevsuri): on the upper course of the E Aragvi and Argun; Pshav (Pshaveli): S of the Khevsur on the Aragvi and upper Iora: Mokhev and Mtiul (Mokhevi, Mtiuli): on the upper Terek, W Aragvi and Ksani.

2. West Georgians: Imeretians (Imereli): between the main Caucasian chain, the Suram range, the Adzharo-Akhaltsikh range and the Tskhenis-Tskali river; Racha (Rach'a): on the upper Rioni; Lechkhum: W of Racha; Gurians (Guruli): S of the lower Rioni, attaining the Black Sea between Poti and Kobuleti; Adzhar (Ach'areli): S of the Gurians, E of Batumi. Speak the same dialect as the Gurians, but are Muslim.

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2. MINGRELIANS

C. G. 101 **NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION:** Margali; own name of country: Odishi.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Megrely, Megrel'tsy, Mingrel'tsy.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Megreli, the country: Samegrelo; (Abkhaz:) Aghrwa; (Svan:) Myzan, the country: Zan

C. G. 161 **NUMBER:**

1897	239,625	(Russian census)
1926	242,990	(Russian census, ethn.)
	284,834	(Russian census, ling.)

C. G. 162 **LOCATION:** Territory N of lower Rioni river and W of the Tskhenis-Tskali, extending along the Black Sea Coast from the mouth of the Rioni up to Ochemchiri (rayons Zugdidi and Senaki in W of Georgian SSR). Also in and around the cities of the Abkhaz ASSR.

C. G. 197 **LANGUAGE:** Mingrelian (Megreli nina) and the very closely related Laz form the so-called Zan member of the S Caucasian (Kartvelian) language group, which also includes Georgian and Svan. The language is not written, Georgian being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Two groups of dialects, which differ very little: West (Samurzakan-Zugdidi) and East Mingrelian (Senaki).

C. G. 241 **TRADITIONAL ECONOMY:** Agriculture; horticulture; viniculture; sericulture.

C. G. 745 **RELIGION:** Eastern Orthodox.

3. LAZ

C. G. 101 **NAME:** SELF-DESIGNATION: Lazi
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Lazy; for the language also: Chanskii iazyk.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Turkish:) Lazi; (Georgian:) Ch'ani, the country: Ch'aneti.

C. G. 161 **NUMBER:** 1926 643 (Russian census, ethn.)
730 (Russian census, ling.)
The Turkish census of 1945 lists 46,987 speakers of Laz, so that the overwhelming majority of them live in Turkish territory.

C. G. 162 **LOCATION:** Between the Chorokh river and the Black Sea coast up to the area of Pazar (Atina) on Turkish territory; also in the Chkhala basin (left tributary of the Chorokh) on Russian territory), (Adzhar ASSR, within Georgian SSR).

C. G. 197 **LANGUAGE:** Laz (Ch'anuri nena) and the very closely related Mingrelian form the so-called Zan member of the S Caucasian (Kartvelian) language-group, which includes also Georgian and Svan. The language is not written, Georgian being used as literary language in the USSR, Turkish in Turkey.

SUBDIVISIONS: Two dialect-groups; West (Vitse-Arkhava and Atina) and East Laz (Hopa, Chkhala).

C. G. 241 226 **TRADITIONAL ECONOMY:** Agriculture, fishing, trade.

C. G. 795 **RELIGION:** Islam (Sunni)

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4. SVAN

C. G. 101 **NAME**: SELF-DESIGNATION: Shwan, sing. Mushwän, Mushwni.

ENGLISH VARIANTS: Svan, Svanetians

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Svany, Svanety.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Svani; the country: Svaneti

C. G. 161 **NUMBER**: 1897 15,756 (Russian census)
1926 13,218 (Russian census, ethn.)
13,142 (Russian census, ling.)

The 1926 numbers are very low and must be due to some misunderstanding. The Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia (1st ed.) Vol. 50 (1944), p. 371, gives the number of the Svan as over 23,000.

C. G. 162 **LOCATION**: Two valleys S of Mt. El'brus, one of the upper Tskhenis-Tskali and its tributary the Kheledula (Sv. of the Dadiani), the other of the upper Ingur (West: Sv. of the Dadishkeliani, East: Free Sv.) Georgian SSR)

C. G. 197 **LANGUAGE**: The Svan language is a member of the S Caucasian (Kartvelian) language-family, to which belong further Migrelo-Laz (Zan), and Georgian, the latter languages forming one group as against Svan. The language is not written, Georgian being used as the literary language.

C G 231 **SUBDIVISIONS**: Historically, Svanetia fell into three parts, Svanetia of the Dadiani, Svanetia of the Dadishkeliani, Free Svanetia.

5. ABKHAZ

C. G. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Aàpswa.
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Abkhaz(ians); for the tribes N of the Cauc. ridge: Abazinians.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Abkhazy, Abkhaztsy; for the tribes N of the Cauc. ridge; Abazintsy, Beshkesek-Abaza.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Apkhazi; (Svan:) Mibkhaz; (Turkish:) Abaza.

C. G. 161 NUMBER: 1897 72,103 (Russian census)
1926 56,957 (Russian census, ethn.)
48,130 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 58,969 (Russian census)
These numbers do not include the Abaza on Russian territory (see below under "Subdivisions"), whose number was in 1926: 13,825 (ethn.), 13,057 (ling.) (Russian census). The Turkish census of 1945 lists 8,602 speakers of "Abaza" (i.e. Abkhaz).

C. G. 162 LOCATION: Black Sea coast S of the main Cauc. chain between the rivers Psou and Ingur (Abkhaz ASSR, within Georgian SSR). The Bzyb'-Abkhaz live around the river Bzyb', the Abzhui-Abkhaz around the river Kodor, the Samurzakan'-Abkhaz in the SE, bordering on Mingrelia. The Abaza tribes live in 15 villages N of the Cauc. chain at the sources of the rivers Kuban' and Zelenchuk (Cherkes AO, within RSFSR).

C. G. 197 LANGUAGE: Abkhaz belongs to NW Caucasian, together with Circassian and Ubykh (the latter no longer spoken in the Caucasus). Two dialects have been reduced to writing: in the Abkhaz ASSR that of the Abzhui, in the Cherkes AO that of the Tapanta. The speakers of the Abaza dialects are all bilingual and speak also the Kabardian dialect of Circassian. In the Abkhaz ASSR knowledge of Georgian is widespread.

SUBDIVISION: Abkhaz has five major dialects: Bzyb', Abzhui, Samurzakan', Ashkharwa and Tapanta. The speakers of the latter two dialects are known as Abaza (R. Abazintsy), though linguistically the first four dialects form one group, while Tapanta stands apart.

C G ● 101 Further tribal names (Russ. form): Tsebeldintsy, Dzhigety; (Abaza:)Beshilbei, Tam, Barakei.

C. G. 241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture, viniculture; apiculture.

C. G. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni); Eastern Orthodox.